March 1953

Fellowship

G. H. C. MACGREGOR

Challenger

The Challenge to the Church By G. H. C. Macgregor

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ff This issue devotes a major share of its article space to Prof. G. H. C. Macgregor. The name should sound at least vaguely familiar to FELLOWSHIP's readers, for Macgregor is the author of one of our long-range best-sellers, *The New Testament Basis of Pacifism.* "Challenge to the Church" is a new chapter in the book, one you will not want to miss. . . . The author of "Letter from Formosa" has been a missionary in China for many years, and in the course of his work has had occasion to visit the island which is now Chiang Kai-shek's stronghold. Without attempting to make political judgments, he reports on conditions on the island. Because he will probably make other visits to Formosa, it was felt better to withhold his name. . . . Ruth Suckow, whose searching "Meditation on Two Flags," we print this month, is an author, her most recent book being *Some Others and Myself,* reviewed by A. J. Muste in May. She is the wife of another author, Ferner Nuhn.

FELLOWSHIP

Published by the

Fellowship of Reconciliation

21 Audubon Avenue
New York 32, N. Y.

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FELLOWSHIP is published monthly except August. Re-entered as second-class matter July 1, 1947, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879; additional entry at Lebanon, Pa.

20 Cents a Copy $2 a year

Fellowship

the journal of the Fellowship of Reconciliation

VOLUME 19, NUMBER 3 MARCH 1953

the CHALLENGE to the Church

By
G. H. C. MACGREGOR

THE TENSION BETWEEN loyalty to Caesar and loyalty to God has been raised to breaking-point by the Second World War and more recent developments. Area bombing, extermination bombing, the atomic bomb, the napalm bomb in Korea, the threat of germ warfare —all these "improved" methods of warfare have in the sacred name of "military necessity" put the Christian conscience under a compulsion that can no longer be endured. Doubtless the argument that modern war is less defensible ethically than war in the past may be rejected as purely sentimental. The horrors of war can be abolished only when we abolish war itself. Yet one must admit the cogency of the truth, expressed by Hegel in his *Logik*, that all things have their measure and that, when the measure is passed through quantitative alteration, there is a qualitative

change also: "things cease to be what they were." There is surely some moral obtuseness about the man who can see no ethical difference between, let us say, the defence of Thermopylae by Leonidas and his Spartans, and the dropping of atomic bombs upon the defenseless population of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

"There Is a Line"

The cruel dilemma in which the Church was caught, between the Christian necessity of "drawing the line" somewhere and the practical impossibility, under the plea of military necessity, of so doing, became more and more apparent during the course of the late war. "The whole Christian tradition," wrote Dr. J. H. Oldham in the British *Christian News Letter* in September, 1940, "is opposed to the view that everything is permissible in war in order to win. . . . I agree that the line is hard to draw: I am sure there is a line to be drawn somewhere. Christianity has no meaning unless for every man there is a point where he says, 'Here I stand before an absolute; this is unconditionally forbidden.'" A month later he was even more emphatic: "The deliberate killing of noncombatants is murder. If war degenerates into wilful slaughter of the innocent, Christians must either become pacifists or give up their religion."

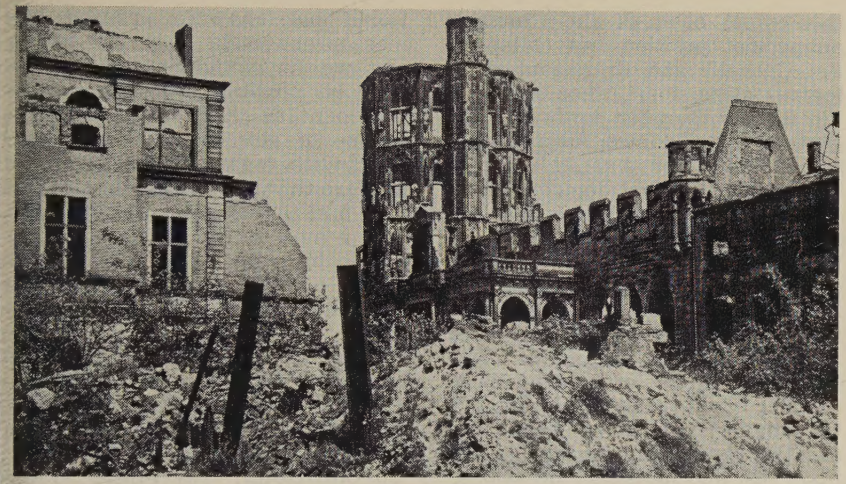
Military Necessity

But as the war dragged on the line to be drawn was pushed farther and farther back. In May, 1943, we find Dr. Oldham writing: "Where the line is to be drawn between attacks on military targets, on the one hand, and indiscriminate slaughter and wanton destruction on the other, is a decision which so far as I can see, must be left to the Government, the military authorities, and the fighting men." And finally two months later: "It is the acceptance of war that increasingly seems to me to be the fundamental issue, while the precise point where the line is to be drawn is of secondary importance . . . If you accept war, military necessity, in so far as it is a real necessity, must prevail." A tragic landslide surely from Christian standards, and this on the part of a publication which was unrivalled in its efforts to preserve Christian values in the midst of war! But at least we know where we stand! Once reject uncompromising Christian pacifism, and the Church is committed (with the assent of its leaders!) to the acceptance of total war, with no moral reservations whatever save such as "military necessity" may allow.

New Nonpacifist Position

That the pressure upon the Christian conscience had become intolerable was proved at the meeting of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam in 1948 when a group of nonpacifists, led by the Bishop of Chichester, took up a new position midway between pacifist and nonpacifist.

The Report of the Council starts with the assertion (which has been reaffirmed at every such conference for the past twenty years): "We are one in proclaiming to all mankind that war is contrary to the will of God; war as a method of settling disputes is incompatible with the teaching and example of our Lord Jesus Christ." But there unanimity ends, and the Report goes on to state that "three broad posi-



". . . when war breaks out force is used on a scale which tends to destroy the basis on which law exists."

tions are maintained: (1) In the absence of impartial supranational institutions, there are those who hold that military action is the ultimate sanction of the rule of law, and that citizens must be distinctly taught that it is their duty to defend the law by force if necessary.

"(2) Others, again, refuse military service of all kinds, convinced that an absolute witness against war and for peace is for them the will of God, and they desire that the Church should speak to the same effect.

"(3) There are those who hold that, even though entering a war may be a Christian's duty in particular circumstances, modern warfare, with its mass destruction, *can never be an act of justice.*" (Italics mine.)

It is this third group which represents a new point of view on the part of nonpacifist Christians; for, though they still defend participation in an activity which they have confessed to be contrary to the will of God, they nevertheless acknowledge that the ostensible aim of any justifiable war, namely, the vindication of justice, is in fact unrealizable. "The immense use of air forces and the discovery of atomic and other new weapons render widespread and indiscriminate destruction inherent in the whole conduct of modern war in a sense never experienced in past conflicts. In these circumstances the tradition of a just war, requiring a just cause and the use of just means, is now challenged. Law may require the sanction of force, but when war breaks out force is used on a scale which tends to destroy the basis on which law exists."

The "Just War"

The emergence of this third group in the nonpacifist camp is extraordinarily significant, for it is in fact a confession that the whole

theological basis of the Christian nonpacifist position has collapsed. For Catholic and Protestant theologians alike, for Luther and Calvin no less than for Ambrose, Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, the sole apology for waging war has been the traditional doctrine of the "just war." It is on this that the statement rests in the XXXIX Articles that "it is lawful for Christians, at the commandment of the Magistrate, to wear weapons, and serve in the wars" (the wording in the XLII Articles of 1553 is "serve in *lawful* wars"), and in the Westminster Confession of Faith that Christians "may lawfully now under the New Testament wage war upon just and necessary occasions." But all through the centuries theologians have laid down the strictest conditions to which such a "just" war must conform. Indeed the very purpose of the "doctrine" as formulated by successive theologians was (a) to provide justification for Christian participation in war, which might otherwise be challenged as contrary to Christian teaching and principle, and (b) to lay down conditions defining not only the "just cause" but also, be it noted, the "just means" by which alone such a cause might be legitimately defended. To justify participation by Christians not only must the cause be wholly just, but the means must be "restrained within the limits of justice and love"; and here the greatest emphasis has always been laid upon the necessity of discrimination between combatants and noncombatants.

Clear Judgment Impossible

Now in theory at least we may still claim that it is possible to determine whether or no a cause is "just." But in practice, once national passions are aroused and mass propaganda is in full swing can we be confident that it will ever be possible to reach a clear judgment as to even the relative justice of any cause? It is, however, with regard to the means of warfare that nonpacifist theologians now find themselves in an *impasse*.

In a most significant Report presented by a Special Commission to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1951 the majority, while still adhering to the traditional nonpacifist position, yet make the following damaging admissions: "Certain features of the war, foreshadowed in the First World War—obliteration bombing, unconditional surrender, mass propaganda, the atomic bomb—raised acute doubts in the minds of many, by no means only of pacifists, as to the relevance of speaking in terms of 'justice' with regard to either the ends or means of modern war. . . . Our experience of the methods of modern warfare and our just apprehensions of their future potential extension, have made obsolete most of the traditional distinctions as to 'just means' of warfare.

Arguments Irrelevant

"There is today a widespread and well-grounded fear that the results of a major conflict would be conditions of such devastation and anarchy as would destroy the foundations on which justice is possible. This is vividly represented to many minds today by the appalling devastation inflicted on the Korean in the course of a war believed to be justly undertaken against aggression. . . . We have therefore to acknowledge that any doctrine of the Just War which is based upon the idea of an accepted code of be-

haviour to be enforced upon, or accepted by, warring powers is unreal in the present circumstances. . . . We must therefore declare that the methods of modern war are so different from those in the minds of the formulators of the traditional Doctrine as to render many of their arguments irrelevant."

Against Logic

Nevertheless, against the logic of their whole argument, the Commission amazingly concludes that "the traditional doctrine of the Just War is still relevant in the conditions of our atomic age," and that there is "no reason to depart from the received teaching that Christians may lawfully wage war upon just and necessary occasions." In the light of its own admissions the Commission surely acknowledges the bankruptcy of nonpacifist theology when it finally confesses that, short of the pacifist position, "we can see no Christian alternative to the statement of the Westminster Confession."

To claim that war even for a just cause can itself be a "just war" irrespective of the means employed is possible only on the assumption that the end justifies the means, however unjust the latter may in themselves be. But to admit that necessity knows no law and that a worthy end justifies the means, however sinful, is surely the final betrayal of Christian principle. "Nothing is more terrible," writes Jacques Maritain, "more cause of scandal, than to see . . . evil barbarous means employed by men claiming to act in the name of Christian order. . . . The character of the end is already predetermined in the means. . . . It is a truth inscribed in the very nature of things, that Christendom will recreate itself by Christian means, or it will perish completely."

No Theological Basis

In view of the virtual collapse of the doctrine of the "Just War" nonpacifists are left without any theological standing-ground. If the nonpacifist majority in the Church are to maintain their position, then it appears that they must restate their case on a basis quite different from that adopted by the majority at Amsterdam, namely that "military action is the ultimate sanction of the rule of law." Of such a restatement there is up to date no sign whatever. Failing it, pacifists may well claim that their case wins by default.

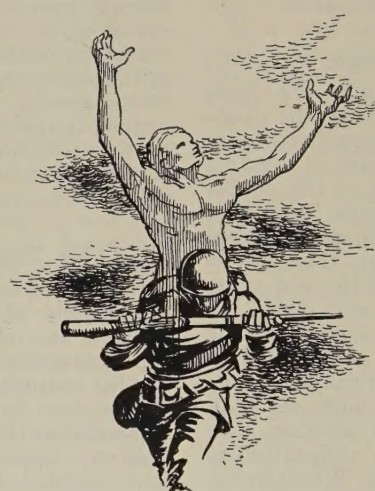
. . . . . .

About the Cover

G. H. C. Macgregor is Professor of Divinity and Biblical Criticism at the University of Glasgow, in Scotland, and can write D. Litt., D.D. after his name. These impressive designations are fitting enough for the man who is possibly the leading pacifist theologian in the world. His book, The New Testament Basis of Pacifism, *is a classic of pacifist argument and literature. "Challenge to the Church," like an earlier pamphlet, The Relevance of an Impossible Ideal, presents ably and cogently the pacifist argument contra neo-orthodoxy.*

Why is it, then, that the vast majority of thoughtful Christians, most of them just as sincere in their convictions as are Christian pacifists, still fail to find in the New Testament a clear condemnation, in all conceivable circumstances, of participation in war?

Today it is the orthodox Protestant theologians, particularly the dialectical school, who are the chief champions of the nonpacifist position; and foremost among them is Reinhold Niebuhr, whose writings have perhaps done more than anything else to salve the uncomfortable conscience of the nonpacifist, and even to wean many pacifists from the pure milk of their faith![1]



The argument runs somewhat as follows: (1) We must start from the basic fact of human sin. Pacifists are deluded because they reject the Christian doctrine of original sin, and imagine that man is essentially good at some levels of his being, and therefore able to respond to the demands of an ethic of absolute love. The truth is that the inherent sinfulness of human nature expresses itself in a "will-to-live" and a "will-to-power" that are diametrically opposed to Jesus' ethic, which finds a man's fullest attainment in a willingness to "lose his life," and insists that the way of greatness is the way of humble service. Even the sincerest Christian is therefore quite incapable of obedience to the way of Christ.

Though we know that we ought to love our neighbors as ourselves there is "a law in our members which wars against the law that is in our mind," so that in fact we love first and foremost our own selves. And if this be true of the Christian individual, much more is it true of social, political and national groups. For it is one of Niebuhr's postulates that "human collectives are less moral than the individuals which compose them." Who looking at the world today can deny that the collective sin of man against man has reached diabolical proportions? And what possible relevance can an ethic of absolute love have in such a world?

(2) Secondly, given a sinful world and the impracticability of the way of absolute love, the nearest approximation to the ideal is to be found in "equal justice." This rather than love, is the only practical guide to conduct in the dealings of individual with individual and still more of community with community: and because all men are sinners justice can be achieved only by the strict maintenance of law. This in turn demands a certain degree of just coercion on the one hand, and resistance to unjust

[1] For a fuller treatment of Niebuhr's views see Macgregor's *The Relevance of an Impossible Ideal.* (Fellowship of Reconciliation).

coercion and tyranny on the other hand; and in the last resort military action is the ultimate sanction of the rule of law.

(3) Thirdly, it follows that the full Christian ethic is not immediately applicable to social and international problems. At most it has a merely relative relevance. It provides us with an ideal standard against which we can measure the magnitude of our past failures, and an ultimate criterion by which every attempt to build a better world must be judged. But also, and for Niebuhr most significantly, the ethic of absolute love gives us "a principle of discriminate criticism between forms of justice." That is to say, when there are two or more alternatives, both admittedly falling short of the ideal, the law of love provides the measuring-stick by which we may determine which of these several "second-bests" approximates most closely to the ideal. It may even lay upon us the duty of accepting what, in the light of the ideal, is not "the best of several second-bests" but rather "the lesser of two *evils*"—for example, according to Niebuhr, war rather than submission to tyranny. The Christian pacifist is blameworthy because he too often refuses to make such relative judgments, to discriminate between alternative second-bests, to choose the lesser of two evils, and with a good conscience to act upon such a choice.

Justice Is Love

This is a powerful argument. Has the New Testament any answer? Take first the primacy given to "equal justice" as the goal of Christian action. The plain truth is that the New Testament has surprisingly little to say on the subject; indeed "justice" can hardly be said to be a New Testament category at all! And the reason is plain enough.

Jesus taught that the Law, which is the foundation of any "equal justice," finds its only true "fulfillment" in his own new ethic, and in particular in the specifically "pacifist" features in it. That is to say, Jesus did not regard "justice" as an end in itself. He taught that justice truly "fulfilled" is nothing less than love, rather than love a by-product of justice; that if we aim at love we shall establish justice by the way; that we can in fact secure Niebuhr's "equal justice" only when we aim primarily not at it, but at the love-relationship of which jutice is but an uncompleted part.

But in the light of what we have written above concerning the collapse of the traditional doctrine of the Just War, this charge that pacifism betrays justice through the exaltation of love is little more than academic. It comes ill from those who have at last been compelled themselves to admit that even war in a just cause can no longer be called an "act of justice."

Man Is Corrupt

But what of the argument that man is so corrupted by sin as to be incapable, even if he would, of obedience to the ethic of love? Over against the facile and shallow humanism of yesterday this is no doubt a much-needed corrective. The New Testament has no false optimism about man, and no illusions about the radical nature of sin and evil. Yet from beginning to end it is throbbing with joy and hope, simply because its writers are conscious that a new Power has come into the world to transform it.

Jesus himself can hardly have

shared Niebuhr's view of human nature! When he wished to teach us what God is like he pointed to the God-like in man. Even in the worst sinner he could discover the hidden good and appeal to it, knowing that the good and not the evil is the essential man. He tells us that it is when a sinner "comes to himself" that he "arises and goes to his Father"; the man's true self is that within him which responds to God.

We may appeal furthermore to the New Testament doctrine of the Holy Spirit and of "enabling grace" which the dialectical theologians so strangely ignore. As Charles Raven has said, "Our discipleship is not our own; we are not living in our own strength; we are vitalized and controlled by the good gift of the Holy Ghost. Humanly speaking our task is impossible; Christianly speaking our resources are infinite."[2]

Fruit of the Spirit

St. Paul at least clearly believed in such "enabling grace." Otherwise how can he speak of "his power that worketh in me mightily," or pray to be "strengthened with might by His Spirit in the inner man," or boast that "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me"? Indeed for Paul every step towards the attainment of the Christian ideal is a "fruit of the Spirit," that is, a product of the new life of which the Spirit is the author; and this new life is the first result of the Christian's status "in Christ." "If any man be in Christ there is a new creation"; consequently "the servant of Christ is capable of a perfect obedience because he has been transformed in the very constitution of his being."[3] Henceforward the moral demands of the Christian ethic become "the law of the Spirit" and are spontaneously and joyfully obeyed.

"Immoral" Society

Furthermore, if it be argued that the essential immorality of collective man justifies the application of a lower ethical standard to the community than to individuals, (an idea which Dean Inge has called "that ruinous dualism of public and private ethics . . . which by openly proclaiming that the teaching of Christ has no reference to the conduct of States has made modern Europe a hell upon earth")[4] we reply that according to the New Testament it is not in the individual but in the Church as the redeemed community that the work of the Holy Spirit is most powerfully manifested. The existence of such a "fellowship of the Spirit" surely disproves the stark pessimism of *Moral Man and Immoral Society* with its thesis that collective man can never rise above the moral level of a mob, and must always and only act in his own self-interest. Remember that we are speaking of "the Church which is His Body," and that our concern at the moment is not pacifism as a practical political policy, but the Church's duty and her capacity for obedience.

Ethics Irrelevant?

Finally what of the argument that in the practical affairs of everyday life, and particularly in social and international relationships

[2] The Theological Basis of Christian Pacifism, p. 31.

[3] E. F. Scott, *The Spirit in the New Testament*, p. 140.

[4] *The Fall of the Idols*, p. 179.

the full Christian ethic is impossible of achievement, and has therefore merely a relative relevance? Here too the New Testament doctrine of the Holy Spirit is very much to the point. As Principal T. Robinson has splendidly said: "A Christian attitude which neglects the power of the Holy Spirit, the *power* of grace, will regard the Christian ethic as an 'impossible possible,' that is, as an *ideal* which can never in any sense be achieved. But an attitude which takes fully into account the power of the Holy Spirit will regard the Christian ethic as a 'possible impossible,' that is, as a *reality* beyond mere human achievement, but not beyond the achievement of God through a faithful Church. The Church is not set in the world to achieve a *mundane* 'possible,' but to achieve a heavenly 'impossible'; in other words she is set in the world to work 'the works of God.' "[5]

Indeed one of the most tragic features in the present lamentable world situation has been the Church's failure to use the power which, in Jesus Christ and his Spirit, God has placed in her hands, and which through the Church's obedience might have been released for the world's redemption. Christian pacifists have often been warned by self-styled "realists" that we shall never bring in the Kingdom of God by acting in an evil world as if it were already here. Yet this is, I suggest, exactly what Jesus *did* teach: if only men were prepared to take God at his word, and to order their lives here and now by the laws of a transcendent Kingdom, then the power of God would answer the cry of faith, and the Kingdom would break in upon them and take them unawares.

After all, if Jesus' ethical teaching is really irrelevant in this present sinful world, so also is his whole work of redemption. For, as Robinson again writes: "There is no possibility of separating the ethic of Jesus from who Jesus is. . . . If we cannot have the ethic apart from the Man, neither can we have the Man apart from the ethic. The ethic expresses the Spirit of Christ and reveals the character of God. If it is not to be practiced, and is indeed impracticable, then Christ himself and his passion and death become equally irrelevant in the kind of world that he lived in and we live in. Both have relevance only for an ideal

[5] *Evil Confronted*, p. 8.

world other than one of flesh and blood. Christianity then falls under the judgment of being no more than a celestial soporific."[6]

The "Lesser Evil"

There is no more subtle argument against Christian pacifism than this plea that the ethic of Jesus has merely a relative relevance and that the Christian must therefore be prepared to accept "the lesser of two evils." Let us look at it a little more closely in the light of the New Testament. "The choice," writes John Lewis in his *Case Against Pacifism,* "is never between rigid obedience to the moral law and wilful transgression but . . . between two courses *both of which have evil consequences.*" Now the words in italics (mine) are dangerously ambiguous. Consequences may be "evil" in the sense that they involve evil-doing and therefore sin; or they may be "evil" in the sense that they involve material loss or suffering or even death. Now it is likely that any of us may be confronted with a situation when every possible alternative line of action involves "evil" in the second sense. But "evil" in the first sense? The New Testament would be reduced to nonsense if we were compelled to believe that God ever *places a Christian in an impasse* to escape from which he is compelled of deliberate choice to commit sin, the "lesser" rather than the greater sin no doubt, but nevertheless sin. "God is faithful . . . who will with the temptation also make a *way to escape.*" Between two ways of sinning there is always a "third alternative"; it may be a very costly way both for ourselves and for those dear to us; it may indeed, as it was in Jesus' case, be the way of the Cross. But it is there to be taken, if only the Church has the courage and the faith.

No Escape

Consider once again Jesus' dilemma as he faced the crisis of his own ministry. Was he caught in this kind of *impasse* from which there was no escape except by the choice of "the lesser evil"? He might have argued that the cause for which he stood was so precious that it would be a lesser evil to call up his "twelve legions of angels" and annihilate the evil men who were plotting his destruction, than to see his disciples scattered as the result of his death, and his friends suffering, and his kingdom going down, as must have seemed inevitable, in irretrievable ruin. He might have refused at that point to be bound by the law of absolute love which he himself had preached. He might have said, "I have the choice of two evils, to see my Gospel destroyed, or to destroy my enemies. I must choose the lesser evil. I must destroy these evil men."

But Jesus refused to be caught in this dilemma; he refused thus to try to calculate consequences; he believed that sacrificial love was a creative power which could completely change a situation and create the most unexpected consequences. And so he chose the Cross and the consequence was not the eclipse of his cause, but its victory not only Calvary but also the Resurrection.

What then of this argument that in a national emergency the Christian must be prepared to participate in war as the "lesser evil"? Pacifists are not alone in questioning the quite unwarrantable as-

[6] op. cit. p. 4-5.

sumption that war is in fact always, or ever, the lesser evil. As Dean Inge, not himself a pacifist, puts it: "The burden of proof always lies with the nation that chooses war, and the reasons alleged are generally, in part at least, hypocritical. That war is the greatest evil in human life, and that no good can ever come of it, are in my opinion certain."[7]

But granted that to many the consequences of pacifism may seem likely to be more evil than war itself, we Christians have no right thus to calculate consequences. We may, like Jesus, seem likely to fail the whole way to Calvary. But the first question is not, What will be the consequences? or, Will the pacifist way "work"? The first question is, Is it Christ's way? And if the answer is "yes," then we have no right to calculate the consequences of our choice, because it is just at that point of choice, just by choosing what we know to be the way of Christ, that we open the door for the inrush of God's own power, which, if only we had faith, might so incalculably transform the whole situation as to confound our fears about the consequences of refusing war.

And if not? Why then there is still the way of the Cross, for individuals and for nations alike. And even for a nation the Cross might mean Resurrection and ultimate victory. As Dean Inge again insists, "The notion of a martyr-nation, giving itself up to injustice and spoliation for the most sacred of all causes, cannot be dismissed with contempt."[8]

Challenge to the Church

The Christian Church today is challenged to take the lead in a crusade for world peace. The very word "peace" has become so suspect that it seldom appears in print save in inverted commas! It is for the Church to rehabilitate it; and no institution in existence has such a comprehensive, world-wide organization wherewith to take the initiative in so great a task. If our Church leaders suspect, as well they may, the motives of sundry other self-styled champions of "peace," then let the Church herself be in the vanguard of an equally devoted and enthusiastic campaign in the name of the Prince of Peace. Nothing would more surely recreate her own life; for as the World Council of Churches confessed at Amster-

7 *The Fall of the Idols*, p. 185.

8 Op. cit. p. 201.

dam, "the Church appears impotent to deal with the realities of the human situation because it has failed to speak effectively on the subject of war." If that effective word were spoken, and an effective lead given, it is certain that the people would rally to the Church as they have not done for three or four generations.

Act of Renunciation

As a first step in this new lead the Church will declare her refusal to countenance war under any circumstances whatever, partly because even such a bare act of renunciation will signify a clean cut with the policy which has led to the present tragic "Fall of Christianity," but chiefly because such a refusal is a necessary clearing of the decks for a positive campaign of reconciliation which must otherwise inevitably be stultified from the outset. Moreover she will announce to the world that her refusal to countenance war is absolute.

To the objection that the essence of Christian living is not to bind oneself in advance, but to seek to read the will of God in each new situation as it arises, the Church will reply that every new situation grows out of a previous one, and that to fail to break with the errors of the past is to share the guilt of creating a "new situation" in which the way of Christ will be no less "impracticable" than it is declared to be today.

There can be no question that if all Christians were to announce that henceforth they would refuse absolutely to participate in warfare; if the Church as such were to give notice that under no conditions would she give her official sanction and spiritual blessing to war measures; and if this pronouncement were made on the definite basis of unalterable Christian principle, so that governments might know that no amount of pressure of propaganda would move millions of their best citizens to break a vow made before God—then the whole world situation might well be radically changed. The ideal, of course, would be action by the Church Catholic and Universal, or at least by the World Council of Churches. Failing that one national Church must take the initiative. Until it does so, individual Christians must continue to bear unremitting witness. After all, is not that the story of almost all the great redemptive movements of mankind?

The Cost of Peace

Meanwhile we Christian pacifists must learn to face the possible cost of peace. The man who in his own soul's life has experienced the miracle of reconciliation finds that a new obligation has been laid upon him. Himself reconciled to God through the sacrificial love of Jesus Christ, he knows himself to be called to serve that same holy love, and to follow that same reconciling way in all his dealings with his fellowmen, and to do so even when the way of obedience seems likely to be the way of appalling risk. It led Jesus to the Cross. But beyond the Cross was the Resurrection: and it was Jesus Crucified and Risen who, when "the disciples were assembled in fear . . . stood in the midst and said unto them, Peace be unto you."

This article forms a new chapter in the British edition of The New Testament Basis of Pacifism, and is reprinted by permission of the British FOR, which publishes the book in England.

Letter from FORMOSA

THE NATIVE FORMOSANS number over six million and there are 200,000 aborigines who live mostly in the mountainous areas. Since 1946 an additional two million people have flocked in from the mainland thus making a population of about 8½ million.

Formosa became the last refuge of the Kuomintang or Nationalist Government. Even before the Government moved to Formosa it extended its rule over the island. This began inauspiciously under a group of officials who were of the carpet-bagger mentality and treated the island as a conquered province. The ineptitude of these officials reached its lowest depths in February 28, 1947, when a massacre of leading Formosans began and terrible atrocities took place according to eye witnesses. This incident may be viewed either as the cause or a manifestation of the tension that exists between the Formosan people and the mainlanders. Time will only slowly erase the memories of the incident. Many are trying to bridge the chasm between the two elements of the population, but progress is slow.

Apparently the provincial government under Dr. K. C. Wu is making substantial progress in building up the economy of the island and in giving a relatively graft-free administration to the people. Efforts at land reform are under way by means of limiting

income from land to 37½ per cent of the annual yield and projecting an actual redistribution of land for a moderate price to be paid within ten years and with landowners reasonably well reimbursed. Experimentation with new crops has begun with American technical assistance. Much work is being done in the field of public health.

Fear of Communism

The Nationalist Government is superimposed on the life of the province. The army of five or six hundred thousand is in its hands. The Generalissimo confines his interest largely to the army. His son, Ching Kwoh, is probably the second most powerful individual in the land. He is more directly in charge of the army and the most formidable police organizations are under his control.

The fear of communism is evident not only in the quick swooping down of the police upon any suspect but also in the close supervision of travel into the mountainous areas inhabited by the aborigines. The Government does not intend to permit the equivalent of the Huk movement in the Philippines to develop in the inaccessible areas of the island.

Artificial Illiteracy

As another measure of control the Government has forbidden the use of the Japanese language and decreed the use of the Mandarin or National language. Thus by fiat the Government has rendered illiterate the people who formerly spoke Japanese and were 95 per cent literate. This is an ironical situation since the Nationalist Government came from the mainland of China where literacy has not risen above 40 or 50 per cent at best. The Government is forced to recognize realities when in order to communicate with the aborigines it is forced to use the Japanese language! The Government has forbidden any literature in Japanese, including the Scriptures, to be brought into the island. This is a real hardship to the churches in the aboriginal areas. The Government has introduced the national language into the schools and is making it the official language.

Christianity Discouraged

The Government is becoming increasingly critical if not unfriendly to Christian activities in certain spheres. It no longer permits evangelistic services in the military camps since the Christian religion is considered a weakening influence upon the soldiers. Freedom of Christian activities in schools has also been curtailed and probably will be made more and more difficult although it will probably not be forbidden on a voluntary extra-curricular basis. There is some opposition to the building of churches and sometimes Christians build residences which they can use also as churches in order to get around the prohibition against erection of churches. Evidences of persecution of Christians appear in remote areas where officials are less intelligent or more unfriendly.

The Government practices a certain degree of austerity in its operations but there are those who perceive that this pertains particularly to the subordinate ranks of Government employees. The guiding principle is that such resources as there are should be distributed as widely as possible and thus salaries are kept very low. A source of irritation to the native Formosans is in connection with a plan

for increasing salaries in Government offices to make them more adequate, with the formula designed to give the increases to categories of personnel that are almost entirely from the mainland.

Disadvantages to Education

The soldiers of the Nationalist armies are better fed and clothed than on the mainland. Their wages continue exceedingly low. Soldiers are quartered in some of the school buildings in Taipeh thus withdrawing these buildings from their intended use. The increase in children of school age due to the influx from the mainland and the reduced number of buildings for school purposes has forced the adoption of schooling on a half-day basis. The dismissal of Japanese and Formosan staff from the schools and the university led to a great loss in efficiency which is gradually being made up.

The Nationalist authorities are trying to make the people of the cities in Formosa war-conscious. Shops and factories as well as churches are all required to construct dug-outs on their premises or on the streets near their premises as protection against air-raids. Most of the dug-outs are very poor in construction and would be of little use in a real emergency. They are objects of humor among the people. The Government holds before the mainland Chinese the goal of return to China but with the passage of time probably a great many people find the hope of return growing dim and are preparing to become permanent residents.

If the specter of war were removed from the consciousness of the people a good life probably could be carved out for the present population in Formosa with the further development of agriculture and industry, but the Nationalist Government continues to gear its thinking to the conception of a comeback on the mainland. Thus an air of tentativeness permeates the activities of the Government. Confidence in the island's future has been greatly increased by recent U.S. policy.

. . . . . .

Sequence

War's cruel winter, ominously chill,
Had stifled hope across the earth.
Almost, our hearts had given up the will
For brotherhood to have rebirth.
Yet through the stripped, despairing boughs, again
The tides of spring renew their flood.
Shall God do more for orchards than for men
Who read the harvest in the bud?

—Elinor Lennen

Meditation on Two Flags

By RUTH SUCKOW

LAST SUMMER I talked with a young pastor who, with his family, had been brought to this country by the Lutheran commission for Displaced Persons, and who was serving two small rural congregations in the Midwest. This young man had been pastor of a church in the Soviet Zone of Germany. Curiously enough, it may seem, the young people of his church had made it necessary for him to flee Germany; not because he had taken a political stand, but because he had given them religious training —they had "sensed" that the way of religion led in a different direction from the political way into which they were being pressed, and some had shown reluctance.

One thing the pastor said has remained in my mind, both as encouragement and as warning: that the police state was less likely to happen here, because a State Church affords the first opportunity to control people's thoughts.

We have no state church in the United States—as the several churches in that very small town gave evidence. Yet at the same time I thought of something that troubles me: that in many a church sanctuary in which the love of God and of fellowmen—the great commandments—are held and stated to be essential, two flags stand facing the congregation. One is the national flag, the other a Christian banner; and they stand side by side, on an equality with each other. What can this mean except that national feeling and religion which the two flags symbolize, are accepted as equal in a building dedicated to a universal God?

I am not so much troubled by the flags themselves as by their position in church buildings. The national flag may be respected as a symbol, the "way of life" for which it stands may be of immense value—I believe this to be so—but this flag cannot be sacred in the same sense as the other if religion is to have more than a limited meaning—if God is more than a tribal, or national, or even democratic or "western" God. As for the Christian symbol, I question whether it was not brought into many Protestant churches in wartime to represent a kind of compromise between church and state; actually, little emotion attaches to it in this day. The national flag is secular. Its place is on the court house, the post office, the town hall. The place for the Christian banner is in those liturgical churches in which visible symbols are traditionally a part of sacred ceremony. In those with a simple manner of worship, it looks and is incongruous.

The force of this latter thought is emphasized by another memory

from the summer. On a cross-country drive, my husband and I had decided to stop for a Sunday morning service in whatever town we happened to be going through. We were in a thriving town in the wheat belt. The church was a branch of one of the "historic peace churches." The building was new and bright, its windows open to the great farming country; with a vigorous congregation, many children; a strong simple service with hearty congregational singing; an earnest minister whose excellent sermon was listened to with grave attention. But there, too, were the two flags. Surely it would seem that the state has taken a step inside the church when even here, in a reputedly "peace" church, the two flags stood, one on each side of the low plain platform.

Their presence troubled me in the midst of what was inspiring in the true sense of the term. What was to be done? Should I rise up and speak out my own conviction, breaking up the meeting? Leave the church as a protest? I do not say that there never has been, would or could be value in such forms of action. There are other reflections, though, which came to me then and have in similar situations. I shall mention three.

First—that if I had opportunity, I would urge the people themselves to remove both flags, if they could see why.

Second—that while I myself might feel that the presence of the national flag within the sanctuary was mistaken, it was placed there not by coercion on the part of the government, but by the consent, perhaps even the choice, of the church members as a whole. There is something very valuable in this power of choice, which I feel should be preserved. Both flags can be removed from the sanctuary whenever the people themselves actually want to remove them.

Third—the flags represent not merely conformity, but love in a limited degree. The national flag stands not only for love of country, but for the still deeper, more personal and tragic love of parents who feel their sons called on to fight and often to die. The Christian flag, of course, in its highest meaning stands for the great conception that "God is Love."

I stayed and shared in that particular service in which I felt both symbols to be strangely out of place, and yet representing a certain true feeling on the part of the people. There is not much value in trying to force a change in the outward facts of a situation, unless at the same time the real fact behind them is changed. Our course lies in changing that fact. As people widen the scope of their sympathies they find less need for banners. When Christians rise to the full conception of their religion, the love involved in both flags will come to complete expression.

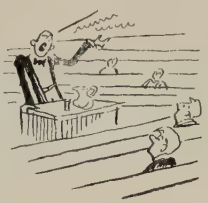
. . . . . .

The roar of jet-powered airplanes has reached frequency ranges so high and so wide that it not only causes fatigue and nervous strain but can break down human tissue, according to scientists who have been studying the subject. Ninety-five decibels is a safe level, but jets produce a roar of 120 to 140 decibels, which reaches "the threshold of pain."

New York Times
February, 1953

FOR to Hold National Conferences, Workshops to Train Pacifists

The "National Conference on the Road," the new idea in FOR conferences, is shaping up as speakers for various sessions are signed. FOR members are urged to put down, *now,* the dates of the conference in their area. In line with some suggestions from previous years, all the conferences will be held this year during the summer, instead of after Labor Day, as has been the recent practice.



New York	June 26-28
Asheville, N. C.	July 31-August 2
Midwest	August 7-9
Colorado	August 14-16
Northwest	August 21-23
Los Angeles	August 28-30

The program for the Workshops to precede each Conference has now been laid out in some detail. Registration will be from 4-6 p.m. on Tuesday before the Conference, and the first session will be held that evening, an orientation discussion and analysis of the world situation.

Each morning there will be a group meditation period from 8:30-9 a.m. From 9-10:30 there will be analysis of various approaches to world peace, viz., collective security, world government, negotiation, universal disarmament, unilateral disarmament, nonviolent revolution, etc. This will be followed by a discussion of questions often asked pacifists: What would you do if someone attacked your wife? What about noncombatant work in the Army? or the chaplaincy? When is force justifiable?

After a half-hour break, the discussion will go on to Biblical problems and war, considering both the Old and New Testaments. The second part of this discussion will consider the origins of warfare, its evolution, and things which tend to perpetuate war.

On Wednesday and Thursday afternoons there will be a discussion of specific techniques of winning persons to pacifism. On those evenings there will be a pacifist analysis of communism, its theory and role in the world today, including pacifists and united fronts, the Communist peace offensive, etc.

In some cases the Workshop may divide into groups interested in carrying further one point or another. A. J. Muste, John Swomley and, in some cases, other members of the staff will be Workshop leaders. Emphasis will be on participation by members of the group, not on lecturing by the leaders; and those who enroll will be expected to stay for the entire period, and to be prepared to do some reading, project work and paper work, in addition to participating in the discussions.

Bayard Rustin Leaves F.O.R. Staff

In January Bayard Rustin resigned from the national staff of the Fellowship for urgent personal reasons, after working for 12 years in that capacity. He joined the staff in 1941, and many FOR members will remember meeting him for the first time at the Lakeside Conference in the fall of that year.

Bayard was a specialist in several types of work for the FOR, and in each of them made a tremendous impact. In the early years with the FOR his work was to a large extent in the field of race relations. He was one of the leaders of the Journey of Reconciliation in 1947, and in 1949 served a month on a road gang in Georgia as a result of one of the arrests to which he was subjected, as were some of the other men, on that project. At various times he participated in a number of campaigns to end segregation in certain situations, and was also frequently led to take action as an individual and a Negro, when he came up against discrimination. His memory is a storehouse of interesting, creative incidents in his own experience, in some of which violence was used against him.

In his home town in Pennsylvania he once was refused service in a lunchroom. He persuaded the proprietress to let him sit with a hamburger and cup of coffee in front of him for fifteen minutes, promising that if a single customer left because of his presence he would go without further protest. At the end of a quiet fifteen minutes, she removed the cold hamburger and coffee and asked, "What'll you have?"

At another time, traveling in the South, he decided that his dignity as an individual would not let him sit in the back of the bus, as Negroes were supposed to do. He sat down near the front, and when the bus driver ordered him to move reasoned with the man, trying to convey his convictions and reasons for his action. The bus driver called the police, who dragged Bayard from his seat and beat him up, unresisting. Bayard's conduct throughout the whole experience so impressed one of the white passengers on the bus that he followed the police car to town and offered to appear for Bayard if he were brought to trial.

During the war, in an airport in Texas, Bayard found he could not eat in the restaurant there, and there was no restaurant for Negroes. Tired and hungry, he stopped four soldiers who entered the lunchroom as he was coming out, and presented to them the paradox of men fighting, they believed, for democracy, while their fellow citizens were discriminated against. They brought him back in with them and insisted that he be served if they were.

During World War II Bayard Rustin served 28 months in federal prisons as a conscientious objector to the Selective Service Act of 1940. He had registered, but later came to the conclusion that he could not cooperate in any way with the conscription system. In 1948 he received the Jefferson Award of the Council Against Intolerance.

For the past three or four years, the emphasis in Bayard's work had been shifted to the college field. Throughout his career, he had been in great demand for speaking en-

gagements in colleges and high schools. His talent for speaking to young people in terms they understand, and excellent tenor voice when he sang for them, as he frequently did, earned him tremendous popularity. He invariably had at least twice as many requests to speak as he was able to fill.

New "Detroit" Planned for December

A Conference on the Christian Conscience and War will be held in Detroit on December 7-10, 1953, under the auspices of the Church Peace Mission. The CPM is sponsored by the Mennonite Central Committee, the Brethren Service Commission, the American Friends Service Committee, some other Friends groups, the FOR, and the denominational peace and pacifist fellowships.

Many pacifists and interested nonpacifists will remember the Conference on the Church and War held in Detroit in May, 1951, in which Walter Muelder, Culbert Rutenber, A. J. Muste, George Gibson, and other stimulating thinkers participated. Next winter's conference will consider the nature of the crisis, especially as it affects the Christian Church, the role of pacifism in the Church and the world today, and theological and ethical problems, with a view to exploring the possibility of greater joint activity for peace by pacifists and sensitive nonpacifist Christians. George Houser, who did an excellent job of promoting and organizing the first Detroit conference, will do the same for the coming one. Inquiries about the Conference may be addressed to him at 513 West 166 Street, New York City 32.

Be sure to put the dates, December 7-10, down in your calendar now.

The Church Peace Mission, in addition to using some of George Houser's time, has also asked for, and received, the FOR's permission to use several months of A. J. Muste's time in the coming year. In particular, he will work on getting the pacifist point of view represented and presented at the National Council of Churches' Conference on World Order next October, and at the Evanston meeting of the World Council of Churches in 1954.

FOR Minister Ordered to Resign

The Rev. Charles Jones, FOR member and minister of the Chapel Hill Presbyterian Church in North Carolina, has been ordered to resign or be dismissed. In December his resignation was requested by a special commission set up by the Orange Presbytery to investigate the alleged "liberalism" of his church and himself. He refused to resign, as did his board, and the congregation endorsed his stand by a vote of 165 to 14. Attacks on the church were based on theological grounds, but there is no doubt that Mr. Jones' activities in race relations and other liberal causes enter into the thinking of his critics.

At the meeting of the Presbytery in January, Mr. Jones and some of the members of his church were questioned. Former Senator Frank P. Graham, who until a few years ago was President of the University of North Carolina and a member of the church, testified that Jones was "a Christ-like man." He also said that Jones literally

practices the teachings of Christ and that this "hurts" some people because it "disturbs the social order of our times." Dr. Henry Brandis, dean of the University Law School, and another member of the faculty, also supported him. The Presbytery finally voted to give the commission authority to "conclude the matter," and it was apparent that Mr. Jones and the church members felt that a satisfactory solution could be worked out.

However, in February it was reported that the commission had given him the ultimatum to resign or be dismissed. Mr. Jones has served the Chapel Hill church for twelve years.

Refuses Sewanee Honorary Degree

Dean James A. Pike of the Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City announced in February that he had declined an honorary degree from the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee, because it refuses to accept Negro students. Eight faculty members of the School of Theology, including the dean and chaplain, have resigned from Sewanee on the same issue. Their action has been upheld by the faculties of General Theological Seminary in New York, Union Theological Seminary in New York, and Yale Divinity School in New Haven.

Dr. Pike, in his letter to the president of Sewanee, Dr. Edward N. McCrady, noted that the school was evidently trying to avoid the issue by putting off discussion at a special meeting and appointing faculty members to replace those who had resigned, the new ones, obviously, accepting the segregation policy.

He expressed impatience with any legal justification for the policy, adding that "The Church has never regarded the civil law as the final norm for the Christian conscience. . . . There is really very little danger that the administration and faculty would find itself in prison; but the picture of the theoolgical faculty behind bars, instructing the students gathered on the lawn around the county jail, is one which could inspire us to realize that the Church is not meant to 'conform to the world,' and could attract many now indifferent people to a Church which often all too easily blends with its surroundings."

Funds for Refugees Needed by IFOR

An appeal for gifts to its War Victims and Refugees Fund has been announced by the International FOR. In making the appeal John Nevin Sayre, International Chairman of the IFOR, pointed out that recent gifts to Japanese war prisoners in the Philippines and to FOR work among refugees in Western Europe had brought the fund down to its present balance of less than $28.

"What we are able to do," said Mr. Sayre, "is in one sense only a drop in the bucket, but because it does bring a sense of fellowship to some people in desperate trouble,

it seems important to continue."

The work with the Japanese prisoners, fifty-nine of whom are held as "war criminals" in the Philippines, has been an IFOR concern since the end of the war. Except for a handful, all 59 are under sentence of death, though there is grave doubt as to the extent of actual guilt in several cases.

Acknowledging receipt of $100 sent them at Christmas, a spokesman for the 59 wrote: "For your warm friendship and for the great kindnesses so far shown by your co-workers to us the Japanese prisoners of war . . . how could we thank you? To our gratitude the long-awaited time is arriving when the Philippines and Japan will march in line as good neighbors. Recently . . . an overseas agency of the Japanese government has been established in Manila and both countries have become more anxious to conclude peace. . . . We do hope . . . the two countries will be bound with the tie of real friendship, not of political expediency. . . . May God richly bless you and your comrades devoting themselves to the peace of the world throughout this year, and give us the privilege of doing our bit to the same end."

On the other side of the world, at Camp Valka near Nuremberg, Premysl Pitter, who fled from Prague, is working with 4,000 refugees, mostly from "Iron Curtain" countries. "At Camp Valka," he writes, "the refugees wait till they get the necessary documents to travel to the countries which accept them. These possibilities are however very limited today, and the conditions for emigration are very strict. . . . Some have had a very narrow escape during their dramatic flight over the border. . . . Others are anxious about families and friends they had to leave behind. And so the joy of a successful escape is soon followed by longing anxiety and all kind of troubles. What everyone needs more than anything else—besides material help—is comfort and support for the soul."

FOR member Elfan Rees, adviser on refugee affairs to the World Council of Churches, says that in Western Europe alone the total number of refugees exceeds the population of Canada. The FOR Secretary in Berlin writes that about 1,000 refugees pour into the city daily, and the FOR is concerned to help them. Clothing is desperately needed and should be sent direct to Berlin. Drop a card to Nevin Sayre in the national office for the address.

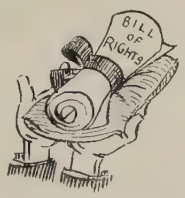
These and other people throughout the world are enabled to carry on their work almost solely because of the support they receive from the War Victims and Refugees Fund and similar funds in a few other countries. Contributions to the Fund are urgently needed, and should be sent to the FOR office and marked for the Fund.

Campaign to Uphold Civil Liberties

A statewide campaign launched by the Massachusetts Council of Churches to educate churchmen on "the present threat to constitutional rights and liberties" has drawn a "heartening" response. Nearly a thousand requests for additional material were received within six days after the drive was launched. Though the campaign was intended to last through February, the Coun-

cil now suspects it may last a year. Requests have come from many other states as well, as a result of newspaper publicity. The materials being used include a copy of the Bill of Rights, basic scriptural passages and representative problem situations, and are intended to stimulate discussion.

"The gradual undermining of American liberties is equally to be feared with communism," according to Dr. Myron Fowell, Secretary of the Massachusetts Congregational Conference and Chairman of the campaign. He said that many Americans are "incredibly ignorant" about the Bill of Rights "which guarantees them priceless freedoms. . . . Patriotic but misguided Americans could lead this country down the same tragic path that destroyed civil liberties in Germany under Hitler when the purpose was to crush communism. After the freedoms were gone," he warned, "it was too late for the people to stage a comeback."



COs Sentenced; Nugent Case Appealed

Raymond Arvio, administrative assistant for the Central Committee for COs, was sentenced January 23 to a year and a day in prison for refusal to report for induction. In his statement to the court, he said: "I believe that, even under the threat of dictatorship and tyranny, we must still use the way of nonviolence, the weapon of the strong. War has failed to end war. I believe the course of action I have taken is the only moral one left to peacemakers."

Judge J. Cullen Ganey took violent exception to his religion and his political analysis. Because Ray did not use the traditional terms like "supreme being" in describing his religion the Judge said he was an atheist with no grounds for conscientious objection. Cynthia Arvio, Ray's wife, went to the front of the court carrying their three-month-old daughter to protest the Judge's statement that Ray had no religion and no integrity. This action, the Judge remarked, meant she had a martyr complex too.

The case of *Harry Gray Nugent* is being appealed by the government. This is the case in which the Second Circuit Court of Appeals in New York ruled that refusal of the FBI to allow the defendant or the appeal board to examine its reports on a CO on which its recommendation was based as to what classification he should receive, violated the intent of the draft law that the selection process should be "fair and just."

On the basis of the Nugent decision, the case of the U.S. vs. *Borisuk* will be reargued in the Third Circuit Court of Appeals in Philadelphia. The Central Committee for COs and the Jehovah's Witnesses were both denied permission to file briefs *amicus curiae* in this case.

Lester Packer's conviction was reversed by the Second Circuit Court of Appeals on December 31, pursuant to its decision in the Nugent case. The government claimed there was nothing adverse to Packer in the report, but the court held that he had a right to examine it to determine this for himself. Packer was serving a four-year sentence

in Danbury, but has now been released.

Gilbert McFadden of Montebello, California, who served a year of a three-year sentence for refusal to register, from December 1948 to December 1949, has refused an order to report for induction, and has been convicted on this charge.

The CCCO reports that the total number of Christmas Cards sent to COs in prison this season set new records. Some COs received as many as 400 cards.

Stanley Sydow of Lyons, Nebraska, has been sentenced to three years in prison and was refused bail pending appeal.

New York F.O.R. Holds Workshop

The New York City FOR group in January and February held a pacifist Training Series to help members to clarify their thinking about pacifism and enable them to witness to their faith more effectively. It included discussion of the origins of war, Biblical problems and war, various types of pacifist witness such as nonresistance, nonviolent resistance, civil disobedience, etc., questions frequently asked of pacifists, and proposals for dealing with the war problem.

Conference on War Attitudes

A Conference on Attitudes Toward War will be held at Oberlin College, in Oberlin, Ohio, on the weekend of April 17-19. Speakers will include John Swomley of the FOR staff and Dr. Frederick L. Schuman of Williams College. Write Howard DeVoe, 204-C Federal Hall, Oberlin, Ohio, for information.

Jottings

Houses for Hiroshima in 1952 provided one home for a family in Nagasaki and six in Hiroshima. Funds are available for two more homes in Hiroshima, which will be started when the weather improves.

Corder Catchpool, British pacifist who was active in the Peace Pledge Union, the National Peace Council, and other peace movements, died of exhaustion in Switzerland recently after successfully climbing Monte Rosa on his fourth attempt. He was 69 years old.

After various rises and falls in the previous months, the cost of living index bounced back to the all-time high it previously hit last August. For the period Oct. 15—Nov. 15 it stood at 191.1, which means that you paid $19.11 for commodities you could have bought for $10 in 1935-39.

Kirby Page, member of the FOR Advisory Council and author of numerous books, is writing a weekly column for newspapers and local church papers under the general title "Living With Peace of Mind."

India is again the scene of famines, with an eyewitness reporting: "I have been in Burdwan, West Bengal, where entire villages have lived on nothing but rice husks for months. Many families in these villages have no clothing at all. . . . I have seen walking skeletons in Calcutta, Cuttack, and even New Delhi."

Books

Unshakable Faith

A Faith for Tough Times, by Harry Emerson Fosdick. Harper, 1952. 128 pp., $1.75.

Small in size but great in quality, this book has the charm of directness, clarity and humor to be expected from this master of the pulpit and of the written word. He feels keenly the challenge of the present tough times and meets that challenge with skill and success.

When everything seems to be shaken we discover the unshakable. Paul, in the thirteenth chapter of First Corinthians, calls attention to the fleeting but contrasts the eternal, "Now abideth faith, hope, love,"—"faith in the sovereign God, hope in the eternal purpose, love that 'suffereth long and is kind.' "

In "life as a whole, the towering ethical criteria remain unshaken. Falsehood is never better than truth, theft better than honesty, treachery better than loyalty, cowardice better than courage." The unshakable exists; the eternal is real.

Mammoth size matters far less than vitality. The creative impact of vital persons and groups will transform the world. The huge mass yields to the silently working leaven. With respect to war, for example, on "one side is the fermentation of ideas," such as "that Christ and war stand in unappeasable contradiction." The "realistic facts" are "pushing us in the same direction in which our ideals are pulling us, toward the recognition of war as insane, wicked, suicidal." The pull from one side and the push from the other operating together are hopeful.

"Adequate power is available." Man has inborn capacities: to be inspired, to worship, to have spiritual companionship and transforming power. Dr. Fosdick pleads for first-hand religion—real, vital, personal. He closes with a direct message to the Church, "If you really believe the Christian gospel —God behind us, his cause committed to us, his power available to us—then proclaim it, live it, implement it, for humanity's hope depends upon it. It is, indeed, a faith for tough times."

Dr. Fosdick raises questions for the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Do we individually and as a group have such vitality that we are truly the leaven? Is our pacifism, like that of Dr. Fosdick, integrated in our whole philosophy of life?

—DeWitte Wyckoff

The Power Struggle

Peace, War and You, by Jerome Davis. Henry Schuman, 1952. 282 pp., $3.00.

Jerome Davis is a veteran peace worker, whose interest in Russia dates back to his work for the American War Prisoners Aid in

that country during the First World War. *Peace, War and You* draws heavily on his personal experiences and conversations in Russia and other parts of the world both then and on his numerous trips abroad since.

The book is easy to read. It includes some healthy criticism of American policy, as well as some excellent passages on the relationship of American prosperity to the war in Korea, and on the cooperative movement as a way of working for peace.

Unfortunately the author does not balance his criticism of American policy with an equally critical view of Russia. On the contrary many passages actually seem to defend Russian acts. He can say, for example, that "whenever aggression occurred the Soviets did all they could to oppose it," but remain silent about Soviet aggression in Finland in 1939, or in Poland at the time of the Nazi-Soviet pact.

At another point he writes: "If war comes, we shall find ourselves fighting with General Franco and de Gaulle, one an out-and-out Fascist who killed American boys in the last war, and the other a dictator," and his unequivocal condemnation of this sort of alliance is clear. Yet a little farther on occurs the bland explanation that since Russia "could not secure support from England and France against Hitler . . . the only possible alternative"—Russia felt—"was to make a Non-Aggression Pact with Germany and so gain time." No mention is made of the boys killed and the cities devastated while time was bought by and for the Russian dictatorship.

In discussing the war in Korea, the author underscores the valid point that we must understand the other nation's viewpoint if we are to get peace. As an illustration of the kind of thing readers need to know in order to form a "balanced opinion," however, he cites a letter of Sir John Pratt that concludes: "No one who studies the evidence . . . can doubt that the Korean War began with an attack upon North Korea launched by Syngman Rhee." There *are* people who have studied the evidence and who have reached the conclusion that it was the North Koreans who attacked—they were obviously a lot better prepared—and others who conclude that the last thing any serious student can do is to be cocksure as to just what did happen, how and why.

The book is guilty of many oversimplifications. "The dispute (over Berlin) could have been settled if we had permitted Russia to control the currency in Berlin . . ." is surely much too glib a solution to that complex problem! So, too, is the statement that "at the end of World War II when Russia put in a claim of ten billion dollars damages against Germany, the United States blocked such a settlement." Russia did get a partial settlement, of course, but what is more important is that the American opposition to a full settlement is not explained. So huge a payment to Russia would have meant bleeding the German economy to the point of almost certain ruin, and, incidentally, would have meant even greater American subsidies to Germany.

Similarly, the discussion on disarmament omits many crucial aspects of the Russian-American discussions, making it seem that the United States alone has blocked disarmament. Accounts of the Allied occupation of Russia after World War I are so incomplete as

to convey an impression not warranted by history.

Another serious criticism that can be leveled at the book is the implication that the Communist-sponsored peace movement today is a genuine one to which people interested in peace should belong. It is a disservice to peace and pacifist organizations that work against both American and Russian militarism and war activity to equate them with Communist front groups. Yet the book lists the Communist-front American Peace Crusade and similar groups along with such anti-totalitarian groups as the American Friends Service Committee and the Fellowship of Reconciliation, with the suggestion that people should "join some peace organization now" and contribute to it.

In his list of reading material, also, Jerome Davis includes obvious propaganda material from Russia and other iron-curtain countries as "must" reading for those who want to understand the "other side," though I doubt that he would make the same unqualified recommendation of the propaganda output of the Pentagon and the British Foreign Office. Nor do I believe that if only the uninitiated reader will read the propaganda of both sides—both the Communists and McCarthy for example—he will have the truth and "understand" the world situation. Two lies do not make a truth. Indispensable to such an "understanding" is material of an analytical and interpretive kind which at least tries not to "make a case" for one side or the other.

Jerome Davis explicitly states that he "is opposed to totalitarianism in any form, whether it be in the United States, South America, Spain or Russia," and again and again indicates that there are things in Russia to criticize. Nevertheless, the very useful material that is included in the book is so diluted with pro-Russia and pro-Communist arguments that the peace value of the book as a whole is largely nullified.

—John M. Swomley, Jr.

Distilled Wisdom

Rufus Jones Speaks to Our Time, Ed. by Harry Emerson Fosdick. Macmillan, 286 pp., $4.

A volume which bears two such names as Harry Emerson Fosdick and Rufus Jones promises something like a spiritual constellation. And the reader will not be disillusioned. In an exquisite and meticulous achievement of editing Dr. Fosdick cups the distilled wisdom and the spiritual insight of the more than fifty volumes that came from the pen of this great Quaker minister and teacher.

Rufus Jones was at once the best interpreter and the fairest product of Christian mysticism in our time, standing squarely in the succession of Meister Eckhardt, Jacob Boehme, and George Fox. His mysticism does not partake of any pathological "other-worldliness," but is characterized rather by an extraordinary spaciousness of mind and spirit which bridges the chasm between the world of time and the world of eternity. Indeed the whole volume radiates a uniquely healthy, well integrated, and vibrant personality that has known how to look at life steadily and see it whole—and there is more than a hint of eternity on every page.

To this reader at least we have here a good and necessary antidote

to the rigid if not sterile dualism which has largely dominated theological thinking in recent years. Especially in his chapters dealing with the nature of man and the true character of the church does one recapture a sense of the essential grandeur of the human spirit, and know with thrilling confidence that the ultimate victory of every moral purpose in life is with those who give their lives as a weapon into the hands of the eternal God.

In the language of an older apostle it may be said of Rufus Jones that he kept the shield of faith shining, the sword of the spirit sharp, and the feet of the church shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace.

—Robert F. Weiskotten

Excellent Collection

The Modern Reader's Book of Psalms, Ed. by Harry H. Mayer. Liveright, 1944. pp. 370. $2.98.

This volume has been in print for more than a decade but to my great regret it was not until a few months ago that I came across it on a table of second hand books. Now I want to urge all Fellowship's readers who do not already own a copy to get one if possible, both for the assistance in the devotional life and joy in good poetry which it will provide.

As the title suggests the poems in the volume are based on the 150 psalms in the Psalter. In a number of instances there is more than one poem for a psalm. All the poems were specifically written for inclusion in this publication. Some are close to exact translation, others are paraphrases or even free meditations upon the themes of certain great psalms. As is inevitable in such a collection, some poems are better than others, but all are good and quite a number come under the head of great lyric poetry and illumine in an astonishing and deeply moving fashion the familiar Psalms.

This is not surprising in view of the fact that among the authors are W. H. Auden, Robert P. Tristram Coffin, Padraic Colum, Lord Dunsany, Louis Macneice, J. Redwood Anderson and our own FOR member, Sarah N. Cleghorn, in truly magnificent versions of Psalms 28, 71, 81, 143.

—A.J.M.

International Heroes

They Dare to Believe, by Robert M. Bartlett. Association Press, 1952. 158 pp., $2.00.

Like the author's *They Dare to Live*, this book contains 17 short biographical sketches of an inspirational nature designed to encourage people to dedicate themselves to similar idealism. In this book all of the persons selected are living, and they are from countries throughout the world. Ralph Bunche, Madame Pandit, Kiyoshi Tanimoto, Arnold Toynbee are among the more familiar names. Some of them are heroes of the resistance movements of the second World War.

The author creates the impression that he is not only anti-Communist but in favor of the "police action" in Korea and other military ventures to contain communism. The book, however, is by no means an apology for militarism or a presentation of military heroes, but rather an affirmation of the beliefs and major life activities of a widely scattered group of international heroes.

—John Swomley

Letters

Strengthen Our Faith

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP

When we who oppose militarism because of the promptings of our Christian convictions confront our friends who—incredulous at our naïveté—point out that we must defend this very faith (plus our country, civilization, etc.) which so strangely moves us to jeopardize it, we are sometimes hard put to it to find a logical response. It is at this point, I think, that we must do some very rigorous, constructive thinking. It is not enough to be prepared to die courageously if circumstances make that necessary (although that should certainly be part of our mental and spiritual rampartage). But then our "practical" friends quickly point out: "What happens then? Shall we all simply die as martyrs and let the reds take over the world?" . . .

The more I think of this, the more I feel the trouble is often within ourselves. Our own faith—in the rightness of our cause—often seems to be easily weakened and confused. And probably in many cases this weakness and doubt is the result of unfortunate personal circumstances. It was Fosdick, I believe, who said something about more atheists being made by indigestion than by logic. . . .

We need a faith that is strong and sure if we are to live above these needling harassments—whether they be great or small. They often play hob with us when we are trying to concentrate our whole being on such a vital matter as world peace and brotherhood. The arguments of our opponents cannot be successfully countered when our faith is under vicious assault. Such a victim of fear and doubt could be greatly helped if some outstanding Christian leader, well versed in psychology, would make a good logical case for the following points: (1) nothing matters at all except what you are now doing. If you're doing what is right now, you must expel from your mind regrets about the past, fears of the future. (2) You are expendable. If you are removed from the scene of action it may seemingly be a temporary handicap to the advance of the Kingdom of God. But others will carry on in your stead. Your "sacrifice," whatever it may be, will save you whereas compromise—at the cost of watering down your convictions—will be of no advantage to the cause, for it comes of the wrong motivation. (3) In the final analysis it is God who will bring the victory—not us (excepting, of course, as he can work through us). God's purposes will be realized outside of history—insofar as we fail him working in history. . . . I should be happy to hear from anyone who can discuss or suggest references to writings dealing with the three points mentioned above, especially number three. . . .

REV. C. W. KIRKPATRICK
Ripon, California

Best-Seller

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP

I have just finished reading the best-seller novel of the year 1952 and it was published by Fellowship Publications! You are undoubtedly familiar with Robert E. Wilson's *Aideen MacLennon*, but you and I know that not many persons will discover this fine novel of a pacifist in World War II.

Today I mailed my personal copy of the book to a nonpacifist friend, with a note enclosed (in the book) asking him to mail it to one of his friends as soon as he was finished reading it. The enclosed note was addressed "Dear Reader" so that it will explain to all who read the book just why it is being circulated "round robin" fashion.

You may have a better idea for publicizing this significant story, but I thought I would pass on this idea so that other interested persons could start a "round robin" book too, if they felt the idea was a good one. There is so much that is quietly and sincerely said in Wilson's novel that I would hope many thousands of American citizens might read it during 1953. If I had the means, I would distribute copies across the country. The next best thing, it seemed, was to start at least *one* copy circulating!

H. Vail Deale, Ex-CPS
University Librarian
Illinois Wesleyan University
Bloomington, Illinois

On Western Civilization

The Editors,
Fellowship

In the account of the National Conference in the October Fellowship, A. J. Muste was reported as saying that Western Civilization was done for, and we should start a new order of society, or words to that effect. Perhaps these words did not accurately express his meaning; for it seems to me that the foundation principles and ideals on which the U.S. at least was founded are true and right today, and that what we need is not discarding these, but reverting to them and applying them to our modern society and world relations. The material prosperity that is shared to some extent with a large proportion of our population has probably prevented our gaining insight which might have brought about normally the evolutionary changes which would adapt our mores to the vast changes in our world brought about by scientific achievement.

We still believe, to some extent, that all men are equal, not in their needs or in their ability to serve the community, but in their equal right to an opportunity to live and to develop, "in their inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." It took us nearly a century to realize that according to this ideal and purpose of our government, slavery must be abolished. After more decades we realized that according to this democratic faith, women should have equal political and professional rights with men. Now it should be realized that all war is contradictory to this basis of our democracy, since its immediate aim is the wholesale killing of our fellow men of other lands; and by conscription for war we drastically limit the right to life of our own soldiers. Now that the world is such an interdependent neighborhood and weapons of war are so indiscriminate and inconceivably destructive, we are in danger of bringing about the destruction of civilization throughout the world, unless we definitely change our course.

But we have never entirely neglected or forgotten our basic democratic ideal, and if we come to recognize that war is contrary to that ideal and that we must recognize the inestimable value of all human life and personality in all international relations, as well as in personal relations, we shall transform our own society at home, and lead the world toward durable peace through the normal and right development of our foundation principles, which have been our chief contribution to the world.

—Mary S. McDowell
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Editor's Note: A. J. Muste did not question the foundation principles of democracy, equality, etc. He based his comment on what was happening to Western civilization on the fact that militarization,

regimentation, and so on, represent an abandonment and betrayal of these principles.

Is That Good?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP

Harold Ehrensperger's article in the January number of FELLOWSHIP about Acharya Vinoba Bhave and his land reform program gave me false feeling of enthusiasm and hope that didn't stand up to a few moments of meditation.

My first feeling was of wonder about the power possessed by this "new Gandhiji" that enables him to persuade wealthy landlords to part with so much valuable land; but on second thought I doubted that he possesses any power or appeal of his own or of a pacifist nature. Ultimately, it is the fear of violence and armed revolution that weighs most heavily in the minds of the landlords who give a few acres here or there.

There is a hint in the article that Bhave's trump card is to scare the landowners with the possibility of a bloody Communist revolution if they don't do something about land reform themselves. Since this is a very real possibility in India today, it is understandable why this technique is such a powerful lever to pry loose a few acres of land from India's feudal lords. India's Socialist Party has followed the principles of nonviolence, and yet it had to recognize its electoral defeat by the Communist Party in some sectors of India where the latter had resorted to burning and killing.

I do not doubt in the least that if the Communists were less violent and less successful, Bhave would have a difficult time finding anyone who would give him any land for distribution.

There is an analogy to this kind of bargaining with the wealthy on behalf of the poor in the United States and it is considered a dirty trick. Sometimes a militant union sets about to organize a factory and encounters stubborn resistance from the owners. This may even lead to severe injury to union organizers and loss of jobs to workers who are prounion. At this point a rival union that is not so militant contacts the owners secretly and offers to establish a union shop with only token improvements for the workers. The owners accept the latter out of fear of the former. This is considered the dirtiest trick in the book of labor relations, and in some cases the National Labor Relations Board has intervened to set aside such "back door" agreements.

I am sure that the Communists thoroughly hate Bhave and I can understand their feeling while being entirely anti-Communist myself. I would enjoy reading further articles about Bhave that might give me a different slant on this subject.

JOHN H. BROY
(formerly International Representative)
Textile Workers Union of America, CIO
Los Angeles, California

Congratulations

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP

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EDITH R. WILLMING
Downers Grove, Illinois

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Periodicals Needed

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP

Eddy Asirvatham, who has spoken widely for the AFSC and who returned to India last December to take charge of the political science department at Nagpur University, writes that he would be happy to receive back copies of any of the periodicals listed below to be used in his work among students and adults. Copies may be sent in convenient accumulated lots by the cheapest form of mail.

Eddy Asirvatham writes that there is a great dearth of such material in India. Both he and all concerned will be grateful for publications received either regularly or irregularly. His address is:

Dr. Eddy Asirvatham
Nagpur University
Nagpur, India

These are the publications:

Time
Newsweek
Life
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National Geographic
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U.N. Bulletin
Foreign Affairs
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Woman's Home Companion
New York Times—Book Section, Magazine section, and section IV (News of the Week)

IRENE KOCH
Chicago, Illinois

Disarmament—How?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP

The article on "Surface Tension" by John Swomley, Jr., in the December issue should, I believe, stimulate considerable discussion among pacifists. If it doesn't, then pacifists are beyond all stimulation.

I believe Mr. Swomley's objective analysis of *Toward Security Through Disarmament* provides the basis for a detailed study of the entire problem. It certainly touches upon the more basic areas of friction between the two power blocs, which is what the report, to a great extent, fails to do. . . .

The report left me with the impression that disarmament was being viewed from the standpoint of satisfying the blind and perverted patriotic nationalism of politicians and so-called statesmen. . . .

A report on disarmament should be made on the sole basis of what is morally and ethically necessary for the human race to live at peace. It should not be made to satisfy politicians and so-called statesmen who are rarely, if ever, satisfied with any proposal offered in good faith by a third and neutral party. Take, for example, the neutral position of India today. How are they responding to Indian proposals for bringing about an armistice in Korea? What reason is there to believe that they will respond affirmatively to a Quaker proposal for merely *reducing* and *limiting* armaments?

JOSEPH A. PRACHAR
Berwyn, Illinois

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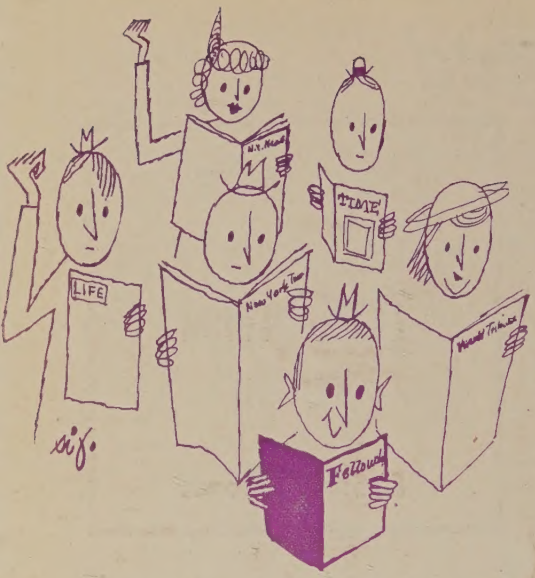

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